THE NEW REPUBLIC

What About Bowles?

A wet finger raised in the Washington breeze suggests that the wind has shifted in the last week or two. Manifestly, the Democrats now know the man they have to beat in November, though there is no consensus on who can do it or how it is to be done. But there has been another change, too, though a less perceptible one. The full partisan implications of the Johnson-Rayburn tactic of "going along" with Ike in the name of "responsibility" are being more widely appreciated and are cause for desperate concern. For it is realized that it may be too late for the Democrats, between now and November, to refute effectively the popular and pro-Republican assertion that prosperity is here and peace is around the corner. Not that the Johnson-Rayburn leadership has been uncritical of Republicans, but its criticism has been so sporadic, so muted or so negative that no sharp contrast between the Administration and the opposition has come through. The defense issue is a good example. Does the Democratic Party in Congress believe that our national security is seriously endangered by an over-reliance on the deterrent force of massive, nuclear retaliation? The answer is probably yes. But when and where has the opposition put forward and fought for a more flexible and more discriminating alternative, even if it costs more? The Democratic Advisory Council has tried to pump some courage and ideas into the life of the party, but it does not write the record in Congress or create the image of the party that is visible to the average citizen. This is the background against which the campaign is forming and the candidates are maneuvering. The parts of the coalition that will be pieced together in Los Angeles to nominate a Democratic Presidential candidate cannot be identified this early. Still, it is known now that a coalition must eventually form, and certain things can be

(Continued on page 3)

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T.R.B. from Washington

All This and Stagnation Too

★ A perfectly devastating little book is published this week along with the return of Congress and the State of the Union message. *New York Times* economic writer Edwin L. Dale, Jr., dispassionately tells the Eisenhower 1953-1960 story. He calls it *Conservatives in Power: A Study in Frustration* (Doubleday & Co.; $3.95).

Mr. Dale leans over backward not to make his book seem like an attack. It is his facts that are so devastating. It was, he points out, "the first conservative national administration in two decades." George Humphrey, at the Treasury, was so conservative that he did not even believe in Federal spending to alleviate an economic slump.

All of the major conditions of price stabilization seemed favorable for crusading conservatives – no war, no immediately preceding rise in prices, no ideological impediment to the use of conservative procedures. The result? Well, the Administration sought to reduce the national debt; it failed. To halt inflation; it failed. To balance the budget; it failed. To cut Federal spending; it failed. To check centralization; it failed. To reduce the cost of handling the national debt; it failed. To alleviate the nightmare of the farm surplus; it failed.

The Administration applied all the traditional, orthodox and conservative remedies and achieved these results: the biggest deficit in peacetime history ($12.5 billion); widespread talk of a "flight from the dollar"; a collapsed bond market; national defense subordinated to the budget; a shock to Treasury Secretary Anderson (on hearing foreign rumors about America's fiscal soundness) which "cannot be exaggerated"; and efforts to raise bond interest rates above a ceiling which has sufficed through 42 years and two wars.

Mr. Dale's efforts to be editorially objective are positively painful. He really seems to suffer with the Administration (even though he has entitled Chapter 16, rather tactlessly, "All This and Stagnation Too"). That Eisenhower hasn't the least idea of what it is all about seems evident. Dale thinks the 1954-55 and 1957-58 slumps were cured by fortuitous "masses of government spending." But he notes that Eisenhower took credit in the 1958 campaign in "several extraordinary speeches" for resisting what he termed "radical" cures – including just such massive spending as actually helped save the day.

Two Hats in the Ring

★ We watched two hats thrown into the ring last week, Hubert Humphrey's and Jack Kennedy's. The two men were at their best. Humphrey has zest, exuberance and homespun informality; Kennedy – perhaps conscious of being only 42 – stressed dignity, firmness, authority. Humphrey seemed to be aching to get at Nixon right away; commiserating with the GOP for having only one candidate, he observed slyly that at least the latter has taken "a lot of positions." Humphrey has grabbed the underdog role; as somebody said, he is the poor man's poor man. With characteristic candor he promptly endorsed a recommendation of Eisenhower's Civil Rights Commission to send Federal registrars into the South if local agencies won't register Negro voters. Kennedy was inclined to favor this too, but took a wait-and-see attitude.

In all candor we are impressed by both men. Kennedy obliquely twitted the shadowy Symington for not getting into the primaries. It is hard to see how Kennedy could be more frank and forthright about his religion and the separation of church and state. Watching him standing there, young, handsome, gifted and poised we tried to imagine him, and his glamorous wife, taking over occupancy of the White House from its septuagenarian incumbent. Somehow it was a curiously difficult thing to do; and we offer this as perhaps an oblique political commentary.

No Vice President since Martin Van Buren has been elected to the White House, yet the Senate is now presided over by a man seeking to duplicate this feat; no Senator save Warren Harding has been elected directly to the White House, yet this Senate is full of candidates aspiring to achieve the trick. Our guess is that the new session will be short, unproductive, and ridden with politics from the word "Go."

And take it from this sometimes fallible prognosticator (who has just lost a bet to Publisher John Knight regarding Rockefeller's withdrawal) Nixon is going to be right in there leading the liberal forces! Yes, sir; you'll find him on our side from now on. He has the conservatives sewed up. To win he must attract the independents. If trade unionists want a helping hand Nixon will give it to them; if civil rights are in question it is going to be hard to get to the left of the flexible Vice President. As time passes he may regret (perhaps does already) knocking off Rockefeller quite so early. He is left as the sole target. Nor did Rockefeller make it any easier when he remarked in his final statement that his travels round the country "made it clear to me . . . that the great majority of those who control the Republican convention stand opposed to any contest for the nomination." That's called the boss issue.

The Political Payola

★ This column has said from the first that the Federal Communications Commission had all the power needed to prevent the TV scandals. Now Attorney General William Rogers makes a 15,000-word statement saying the same thing. It is the old story. The trouble with the regulatory agencies is that they don't really regulate.

We think that FCC Chairman John C. Doerfer was asleep at his post; that his subsequent statements show he is out of tune with the times and that he should resign. What Rogers doesn't say is who named the members of the FCC. Every present FCC commissioner was either appointed, or re-appointed by Eisenhower. This highly moral President filled this regulatory agency with political hacks. He has done this to other agencies. The political payola preceded the disc payola.

One thing the happy New Year has brought – Herblock, who had been ailing, is back at work! It makes everything brighter somehow.

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What About Bowles?

. . . said in January about some of the men whose hopes or aspirations have been most publicized.

Lyndon Johnson has picked up velocity, partly at the expense of Jack Kennedy who had hoped for favorable winds from the South which now appear to be blowing Johnson's way. Mr. Johnson's backers seem confident that the political barometer can be kept rising for the Texan, but it is likely to rise only high enough to permit him and his allies – including Speaker Rayburn – to be among the kingmakers. Hubert Humphrey is having difficulty enticing Kennedy into the Wisconsin primary, Kennedy not liking the fact that in addition to Wisconsin's being virtually home ground for Humphrey, a fight between the two of them there may only help Johnson and Symington. Moreover, there is a possibility that Wayne Morse may enter Wisconsin, making it a three-way split. A tough campaign in that state would also limit the time Kennedy could give to the almost simultaneous race in the Ohio primary, where twice as many delegate votes will be at stake.

Senator Symington is becalmed by general indifference. Despite optimistic assurances of his acceptability to the organization men, his availability has not sparked any noticeable public demand. And Kennedy is planning to challenge him to a May primary in Indiana, which is supposedly a base of Symington strength.

Adlai Stevenson remains not only the most widely-known possible nominee, but as his article in the current issue of *Foreign Affairs* again illustrates, he is his party's most sophisticated spokesman. His abilities were never better displayed than at the recent Advisory Council dinner in New York City, and the cheers of the audience confirmed his continued appeal. Yet, Stevenson must have come away from that weekend knowing that a number of his former backers were telling each other, sometimes sorrowfully, that if his talents are to be put fully to use in the government, it will only be through the election of another Democrat as President.

With the possible exception of Stevenson, none of the apparent possibilities has, in Walter Lippmann's words, "aroused more than what may be called the enthusiasm of a faction." Many think they can go far, but none can persuasively explain how he is to be carried the whole way. In every camp there is that nagging thought that however many ballots are cast the 761 votes its man needs will not be there.

And how many ballots might be cast? As was said last week, this is not 1924, when only after 102 ballots did the Democratic convention drop the front-runners – Al Smith and William G. McAdoo – and agree on John W. Davis, a man no less conservative than his opponent, former Vice President Calvin Coolidge. Neither the Democratic budget, the exigencies of television nor the patience of the public will stand for

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too prolonged a fight in Los Angeles in 1960. If a deadlock does occur, delegates for whom second best and second-rate are objectionable may have to turn to a dark horse. Democrats are always charmed by the prospect of surprise, and the hope for one or more added entries has been often voiced since the field began to narrow down after '58.

The Non-Candidate Candidate

But what dark horse? The name that has begun to be mentioned most frequently is that of Chester Bowles, who will perform as a toastmaster at the Democrats' $100-a-plate "Presidential campaign kick-off" dinner in Washington on January 23. The talk is especially surprising because it has come about in the absence of any organization, money, publicity and despite Bowles' own participation in the Kennedy cause. Yet there is talk, and it is not confined to one area or "faction."

Like others, Bowles has affirmed positively that he is not running and does not expect to run. His disclaimer is made none the less sincere by virtue of the remoteness of his chances. The Democratic organization in Connecticut is stoutly pledged to Kennedy, and Bowles is actively and faithfully working for Senator Kennedy's nomination.

Then too, Bowles is a member of the House of Representatives whose members, unless they have reached the eminence of Speaker, are not supposed to be entitled to Presidential ambitions. Nevertheless, by some sort of political osmosis, mention of Bowles has been rising. Much of the interest is of the same amateur variety which in 1952 helped start Stevenson on his way. Some of the same people who were engaged in that enterprise are now for Bowles, but among his fans there is also a salting of the younger professionals who have grown in party influence since '52 and will play a large part in the decisions of 1960.

Any assessment of present backing for Bowles is guesswork. A number of Democratic leaders in California are privately for him. His supporters point to a not infinitesimal following in Oregon, Washington, Utah and elsewhere in the West. They believe that Michigan would switch to him if Governor Mennen Williams is turned down by the convention. There has been activity for Bowles in Florida, New York, North Carolina, Wisconsin and Illinois.

Three things, conjoined, appear to account for this activity. One, the fear that Vice President Nixon, riding the Administration's peace float, will be a much more persuasive Republican candidate than was assumed after last year's Democratic victory. Second is the already-noted inability of the all-but-announced hopefuls of the Democratic Party yet to register a decisive impact. Third is the indication that the coming campaign will revolve around foreign affairs and domestic economics, in both of which fields Bowles has a record of unusual competence and foresight.

There is no difficulty in demonstrating that Chester Bowles is of Presidential stature. Perhaps more than any figure in either party he has the stamp of the new era in foreign relations. With the Soviet challenge now shifting to political and economic penetration of underdeveloped continents, Bowles emerges as one who anticipated this changed emphasis in Soviet strategy as early as 1951. His Ambassadorship to India and Nepal was one of the most successful in modern diplomacy. What Bowles, almost alone, was arguing on his return in 1953 has become the conventional wisdom of every telecaster who comments on Dwight Eisenhower's trip to New Delhi seven years later.

And yet Chester Bowles has not made the mistake of playing up Asia or the economic aspect of the Soviet threat at the expense of a balanced view of European problems or the importance of military power in preventing war and in negotiating advantageous settlements. His rebuttal of Secretary Dulles' "massive retaliation" speech was among the first and the best. He has travelled since 1953 to Africa, Asia, Europe and the USSR. It is little known, but true, that he would have been Adlai Stevenson's choice as Secretary of State had Stevenson won in 1956.

As Price Administrator, Economic Stabilizer and member of the War Production Board during World War II, Bowles was similarly ahead of his time, displaying originality and drive in dealing with the problems of inflation, prices, and rates of economic growth. During the steel strike, he suggested a settlement on the basis of a price cut without a wage increase – a characteristically independent proposal that combined an awareness of high steel profits and the inflation danger with a recognition of the declining price position of American-made steel in the competitive world market. As one of the organizers of a successful advertising firm, as head of a large federal agency and as Governor of Connecticut, he has acquired substantial executive experience.

What Kind of a Man Is He?

Beyond the matter of experience is the question of temperament and character. What kind of a man is Bowles? He is, say his friends, self-confident and outgoing, and as his career as Ambassador showed, deeply interested in people – as is his wife. He has an affirmative quality, a disposition to search for solutions rather than for someone to blame. He is politically astute, yet has none of the fear of intellectuals that inhibits some politicians. And his partisans make much of the fact that he has the physical presence and look of a President; his delivery can be heavy, but he conveys sincerity, strength and a feeling of easy informality.

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At 55, he is old enough to suggest maturity and young enough to guarantee that he can give to the Presidency the energy it demands.

Can a Political Case Be Made?

But can a political case be made for a Bowles nomination? Not only is he a member of the House of Representatives but a freshman member at that, and it is not in the tradition of American politics that Presidential nominees should come from the House (nor from the Senate either). But the Bowles people profess to see an advantage in this. The political influence of House members, in sum, is nearly as great as that of the Senators. The prospect of a Representative being seriously considered for the Presidency is pleasing to other members, and more Democratic House members than Senators will be delegates to the convention. The tradition that any candidate for the Presidency must be initially supported by his own state is strong, but it has been broken. Bowles could win without Connecticut, but those who argue his case also believe that if Kennedy does not make the grade, Connecticut will turn to Bowles and the rest of New England would be wide open to persuasion.

His backers likewise think that Bowles would not be objectionable to his former boss, Harry Truman, and that much of the South would accept him with equanimity, if not enthusiasm. He is as firm on civil rights as any Democrat, but he has always been careful to state his case in a way which least offends Southerners, emphasizing that the problem is a national and not a sectional one, that discriminations are as real in the rest of the country as they are in the South. He believes that more progress is being made on race relations, for instance, in Atlanta than in Chicago. This may be a case of the pot calling the kettle black, but many Southerners have been saying the very same thing.

Bowles' advocates stress the reluctance of so many leading Democrats to commit themselves at this time to any of those seeking the nomination. They interpret this reluctance as reflecting a political calculation that a new face and a new personality offers the best hope for success in '60; they calculate too that in the event of Democratic failure this year, a defeated Bowles would at least assure that party leadership in the interim until 1964 will be both forward-looking and aggressive. Whether or not one accepts this interpretation of the mood of convention delegates, it ought not to be dismissed out of hand. This journal believes that the candidacies of Hubert Humphrey and Jack Kennedy – and Adlai Stevenson – are still very much alive; but it also foresees the real possibility of a deadlock. It is not too soon, therefore, to consider attractive, new liberal alternatives (mediocrities will be easy to come by). And it is for this reason that discussion of Chester Bowles has practical significance.

Banning Nuclear Tests

Do the facts require us to defer indefinitely, if not abandon, all hope for a three-power agreement to end the testing of nuclear weapons, even though negotiations begin again in Geneva on January 12? That conclusion could be drawn from the news during the closing weeks of 1959.

On December 22, the Rand Corporation released a theoretical study that had been presented to the Russians at Geneva showing that "nuclear explosions can be effectively hidden in large underground cavities," and that "a yield of more than 300 kilotons could be made to look seismically like a yield of one ton." The Democratic Advisory Council's Committee on Science and Technology followed with a Sunday policy statement which refrained from passing judgment on whether or not the Administration should unilaterally continue the suspension of all testing, but which repeated its recommendation that a National Peace Agency be created in which scientists and engineers could explore new techniques for monitoring and controlling disarmament.

On the next Tuesday, December 29, two groups, meeting 3,000 miles apart, agreed that technical considerations have dimmed the possibility of a comprehensive ban. At the winter White House in Augusta, the President met with his advisers and issued a strong statement charging "politically guided" Russian scientists with failing to take new technical data into account, and announcing that "although we consider ourselves free to resume nuclear weapon testing, we shall not [do so] without announcing our intention in advance of any resumption." At a meeting of the American Physical Society in Pasadena, California, a panel of physicists, some of whom had been associated with the Geneva talks, discussed the Rand study, which had been "fathered" by Dr. Edward Teller. These scientists agreed that underground tests could be so designed as to baffle both shock waves and above-ground human and mechanical detectors.

The rest of the week was filled with charges and countercharges, here and abroad. The President's action, as Gerald W. Johnson writes in this issue, was clearly a forcing play to compel the Russians to fish or cut bait. It is generally thought that the US will not resume even underground tests in the near future, in deference to public anxiety, but it is also clear from the President's announcement that Dr. Teller again has succeeded in his determination to frustrate any nuclear test ban treaty.

Many scientists concede that we do not have the technical means at hand to monitor underground tests properly. Some are convinced that a nation could conduct a series of such tests without detection. These same scientists believe, however, that we will in two or three years have the seismographic capability to monitor and control underground tests.

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But without this assurance today, some observers believe that it would be disastrous to ask the US Senate to ratify any comprehensive test ban treaty. They reason that the Senate would call the military, the Atomic Energy Commission and Dr. Teller as expert witnesses. And on the advice of this stacked deck, the Senate would have to reject the treaty.

Two other factors should be noted. There is doubt that the Russians will agree in the foreseeable future to having foreign inspectors on their soil. There is doubt also on how vital a comprehensive nuclear test ban is to disarmament. On the latter point, it is argued that such a ban would not appreciably reduce tensions; nor would it assure the destruction of a nation's atomic know-how, nor its production or stockpiling of weapons. It would not, therefore, contribute greatly to the slowdown or halt of the arms race.

Where, then, is the promise of an end to testing left? If the President's latest pressure play leads to no substantial Soviet concessions on measures for monitoring underground tests, US diplomacy will in all probability return to an earlier and more modest alternative that was outlined to the UN General Assembly by Ambassador Lodge on October 13 of last year. "In his letter of May 5 [to Khrushchev]," Mr. Lodge said, "the President wrote that if it proved impossible to reach early agreement on all aspects of a comprehensive test ban, we need not allow this to result in complete failure of the negotiations. He stated an alternative, which the US is still prepared to stand by, in these words: 'It is that starting now, we register and put into effect an agreement looking toward the permanent discontinuance of all nuclear weapons tests in phases, expanding the agreements as rapidly as corresponding measures of control can be incorporated in the treaty. I would again propose that toward this end we take now the first and readily attainable step of an agreed suspension of nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere up to the greatest height to which effective control under present circumstances can be extended'."

The idea of a limited, phased agreement is one that has been advanced by Senators Gore and Symington, as well as the Administration. It would permit a continuance of the present test suspension, insofar as that testing was atmospheric (just above or right at the earth's surface), at high altitudes (19 to 31 miles above the earth), or underseas. This approach to the stalemate at Geneva has been described as merely a "gimmick," and yet it is more than that. For such an agreement would be self-monitoring, would reduce poisonous fallout, would leave the door open for amendment as technology impresses itself more firmly on politics, and would be acceptable to Congress and the American public. Finally, such a phased treaty would in itself have a certain psychological force as a first step toward the universal, comprehensive ban which remains to be established.

Credit for the Settlement

The final hours leading up to the steel strike settlement were packed with melodrama. Would Dick Nixon and Jim Mitchell succeed in pressuring industry into an agreement before Congress reassembled and Jack Kennedy could haul the protagonists before his Senate Labor Subcommittee to insist on settlement? Kennedy's advisers were all set with an alternative proposal to an expected Administration request for an extension of the back-to-work injunction. Had the January 26 deadline come without forceful government intervention to compel a strike settlement, Kennedy would have had the full spotlight to present his plan for major revisions in the Taft-Hartley Act. Public interest in such action will no doubt continue for the reasons set forth in Mr. Wellington's article on page 11. But the chance to put the blame on the Republicans for neglecting the public interest dimmed the moment Steelworkers' President David McDonald stood up to praise President Eisenhower and Vice President Nixon for their parts in achieving the steel agreement. (Surely strange conduct for one of the labor leaders Senator Goldwater assures us are in the Democrats' pocket!)

Labor Secretary Mitchell – Mr. Nixon's close friend and possible 1960 running-mate – in announcing the settlement emphasized the Vice President's crucial role in bringing the parties together. And he does not seem to have exaggerated. Trade publications report that steel producers were privately resigned to being pushed into a settlement when Nixon and Mitchell took over the campaign from the President's fact-finding expert and the Federal Conciliation Director.

What a happy day it will be if Nixon proves equally persuasive with his steel friends when the question becomes whether to absorb the added costs the new agreement will bring – or raise prices and pass the cost along to the public.

John L. Lewis

John L. Lewis is having the unusual opportunity of previewing his obituary notices. And the old basso profundo has reason to be more than a little pleased at what he has been reading since the announcement of his intention to resign sometime this year. Even the accounts of his career in the "kept press" which he has so often and ardently reviled reflect a secret admiration for his strength and courage. But what is most worthy of note in John L. Lewis' life is not, as so many stress, his breaks with Roosevelt and with Philip Murray and the CIO or his contribution to the welfare of his beloved miners. His great moment came in the revolt against the do-nothing AFL and the decision to support the drive for industrial unionism. For it was the resulting new

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growth of organization that was responsible for the vitality and the bit of idealism the labor movement has contributed to political life in the last 20 years.

Fed up with the lethargy that immobilized the AFL during the depression years, Lewis pulled together those elements that wanted to try to rebuild and move ahead. With a generosity unparalleled in American labor, he backed up his gamble with the very considerable funds and resources of the United Mine Workers. Years later, Philip Murray pledged Steelworker and CIO funds to rebuild the International Union of Electrical Workers, after the expulsion of UE on charges of Communist domination. But when Lewis risked the Miners' money there was no experience to indicate how that investment would turn out. The industrial organization movement was the reward of his daring.

The Passion to Destroy

To make way for the automobiles of a burgeoning population, engineers in every state are busily planning to tear down beautiful and historic landmarks and substitute in their place freeways that become obsolete almost as soon as they are built, and unsightly garages made of great blocks of concrete and cement which never quite solve the parking problem. While the bulldozer is in the ascendancy nearly everywhere, it is especially so in California – and particularly in San Francisco. There, the fight to block this kind of "progress" – or at least to delay it long enough to give people a chance to take a closer look – has led to the formation of an organization known as the California Heritage Council, whose purpose is to save several important historic and aesthetic sites which are slated for the jack hammer and the wrecking ball.

The Council came into being too late to preserve San Francisco's famed Montgomery Block, a century-old building which housed the great and near-great from Jack London to Sun Yat-sen. However, several sites still exist which may yet survive. On Mission and Fifth in San Francisco the Old Mint Building is a rare example of Greek Revival architecture in the West. Owned by the federal government, it is scheduled to be sold as surplus, which would doubtless mean its destruction and replacement by a private development. In Contra Costa County, lying just north of San Francisco, it is planned to tear down the historic home of California's great naturalist, John Muir, for the usual reason that it is in the path of a proposed freeway. Finally, there is an open conspiracy between officials in the San Francisco Public Works Department and Chinatown businessmen to build a garage under Portsmouth Square, the scene of the first raising of the American flag in San Francisco, a favorite haunt of Robert Louis Stevenson, and a terminal for the pony express as well.

In city after city the "great houses" of the 19th-Century and earlier have disappeared so that we might have more office buildings which are monotonously alike and more apartment houses that please the eye only so long as the paint is fresh. "Because it's old, it's good" is an absurd proposition. But is this nation so rich in evidence of history and of beauty to justify the indiscriminate and ruthless razing of the past?

Japan's Birth Rate

Japan has proved that the population explosion can be contained without aid, advice or consent from the US government. The proof may not be relevant to other parts of Asia, but it is relevant to some of the current discussion in this country of birth control and public policy. In 1947, Japan had a birth rate which, had it persisted, promised a population of 100 million by 1980. Montana, the same size as Japan, has a population of under 700,000. Since 1947, the Japanese birth rate has been cut in half.

This could not have happened unless the Japanese Parliament had, in 1948, changed its laws so as to modify previous restrictions against sterilization, abortion and contraception. But the sharp reduction in births is also attributable to the Rockefeller Foundation which in 1950 helped set up an Institute of Public Health in Japan which initiated a pilot birth control project.

Aside from changes in the laws and the pioneer work of the Institute, there are other reasons for this remarkable record in population control. As noted by David Cushman Coyle in a recent bulletin of the Population Reference Bureau in Washington, Japan is not only the only industrialized country in Asia but has the highest degree of literacy in that region: education has been compulsory since the latter part of the last century. Moreover, under the American occupation, women were given equal rights for the first time; primogeniture was abolished; and although the presence of large numbers of GI's brought new problems, it also brought new ideas.

Sparks in the Middle East

After 18 months' uneasy peace there are signs that the Middle East may once more burst into flame, forcing Russia and the West into open conflict just at the moment when events in other parts of the world are pushing them toward accommodation. This time the storm center is Baghdad. General Kassem has long been the Tito of Arab nationalism: there are signs that he would now like to become its Mao Tse-tung – not only a rebel against Nasser's claims to leadership but a rival. He has already established friendly relations with Tunisia on the basis of a common hostility to Cairo. More-

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over his hatred for Nasser since the near-successful attempt at assassination in October has reached the stage when it might be expressed in action outside Iraq.

Meanwhile Kassem's links with the Soviet Union grow firmer as Egypt inclines toward the West. Within a few days of the World Bank's loan of $56.5 million to Egypt for improving the Suez Canal, Iraq and Russia signed an agreement under which the Soviet Union will set up centers in Iraq for training more than 4,000 Arab technicians. Fear that Iraq may fall wholly into Communist hands has brought Nasser into *de facto* alliance with some of his worst enemies in the Middle East. King Hussein of Jordan has announced that if there is revolution in Iraq, Jordan will intervene to help the anti-Communists. And the Shah of Iran has chosen this moment to denounce the 1937 agreement fixing the frontier between his country and Iraq at the head of the Persian Gulf next to the Abadan oil refinery. There are signs too that Syrian politicians, though new inside the United Arab Republic, are acting independently of Nasser in trying to organize subversion in Iraq through members of their sister organization, the Ba'ath Socialist Party.

At all events, the situation inside Iraq, already unstable, is likely to become more explosive still when freedom of political organization is permitted again on January 6. Opposition to the Communists has become bolder and more open in the last few months, but the Communists will do their best to recover lost ground. In such a situation a single bullet could start a general war throughout the Middle East. And whatever the origin of such a war, no one can predict how far cross currents of interest and ambition might lead it. For example, if Jordan decided, voluntarily or otherwise, to abandon her independence and join with one of the larger Arab states, Israel would certainly be tempted to advance up to the river Jordan, even though this meant including another million Arabs inside her territory. Moreover if the fighting seemed likely to lead to a shift in the global balance of power, Russia or the West would find it hard to resist intervening, thus raising the conflict to a new dimension.

Yet neither Russia nor the West could hope for gains from such a development which were in any way commensurate with the risks involved. There are signs that both countries realize this and are already urging caution on their protégés in the area. Our government and the British are known to have asked the Shah of Iran to pursue his frontier dispute with moderation, and there is evidence that Russia is trying to curb the ardor of the Iraqi Communists. Yet there are obvious limits on what either Russia or the West can do separately to control developments in the Middle East. So long as the Middle East remains a major battleground of the Cold War, any recalcitrant ally can always escape control by joining the other side, as Nasser has done twice already.

Thus if Russia and the West both have an interest in preventing a war in the Middle East, they can achieve their aims only by acting together. Even then they cannot wholly determine the course of events in an area which is certain to be highly unstable for many years to come. But a gentleman's agreement on what Secretary Herter recently called "ground rules" could at least reduce the danger that upheavals in the Middle East would lead to great power conflict.

SUMMITRY AS A PHILOSOPHY

If We Just Keep on Talking . . .

Paris

Officially, what took place during Mr. Eisenhower's most recent visit to Paris? In the course of some 10 hours distributed over several days, this Little Summit conference established the principle of "successive meetings" – in other words, the next Summit conference in May would not be a last-chance meeting, the outcome of which would determine world salvation or apocalypse. The outcome is known in advance – namely, failure. It thus becomes a gamble on temporizing – in fact, this has already become a philosophy: relaxation of tension is deemed preferable to the solving of problems which jeopardize this relaxation. So, to this end, the solution is simple: it has been observed, or so it is believed, that the prospect of a Summit conference has contributed to produce a veritable contest of good will; therefore, the objective is to make this a permanent prospect.

The truth is this proposal of Mr. Macmillan's was the essential factor at the Paris conference of December 21. All the confidential reports we have been able to obtain, both from groups surrounding the various Ministries of Foreign Affairs and from NATO circles, reveal a decidedly deceptive state of affairs.

Under the cover of personal friendship, or of the

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Western Entente – is not the term "Western" becoming increasingly vague? – disagreements were consolidated.

What I should like to touch on most particularly, of course, is the strained quality of Franco-American relations. In principle, as has been repeatedly written, the Americans take the stand that the French Armed Forces be integrated into the Atlantic Military Organization. In principle too, the French are irritated by American abstention in the UN Assembly vote on Algeria, and are exasperated by such communiques as those published at the close of the Tunis conversations by Presidents Eisenhower and Bourguiba.

There is no doubt that these two factors were dominant, especially after General Twining virtually put the French attitude on public trial at the December NATO meeting. But the way in which these two factors were exploited is of much more political significance. Moreover, it is just plain common sense: how could the Americans have failed to take advantage of the NATO conflict to bring about a rapprochement with Chancellor Adenauer, whose contribution to the Atlantic Organization is so great that he sides with the idea of integrating the French armed forces – and all the more so in view of the fact that these forces are at present occupied in Algeria? How could the Americans have resisted the temptation to alienate the French from the Germans, and to regain weighty influence on the Germans in the hope of obtaining from Chancellor Adenauer some consent to future conversations with Khrushchev on Germany? It is all simply a game of diplomacy, and one which is all the more normal because the mystical concept of a Franco-German union is much stronger in the proposals and plans of General de Gaulle than in the recent aspirations of Dr. Adenauer. When President Eisenhower left the United States on his tour, the most highly respected journalists, viewing the Paris-Bonn Axis as an obstacle to relaxation of tension, recommended a policy of "firmness." Their government chose to adopt the solution which was offered: division.

On the French side, how could General de Gaulle have failed to yield to the temptation to convert the "Twining affair" into a conflict of prime importance? Since the American responsible authority of NATO had committed the blunder – in truth, a piece of clumsiness hard to explain – of creating a *public* incident, it was very easy to protest against the bad form displayed and steer clear of any discussion of fundamental issues. At the same time, speculation was aroused by the difficulty of the British and Americans in replying to General de Gaulle's question: "If you want an integrated NATO, thereby depriving France, already menaced, of her freedom of movement, why do you hesitate to pledge the essential elements out of the available military resources of the United States and the United Kingdom?"

The fact is that every one, or almost every one, of the partners had some private reservation. Where General de Gaulle was concerned, he could hardly have been expected to itemize such trump-cards as he might hold and which he might wish to use to implement his policies, until after Mr. Khrushchev's visit to France. Nor could President Eisenhower fail to be aware of this; and too he must surely have realized that he could not discuss basic problems with de Gaulle until the latter, after seeing Khrushchev during the last two weeks of March, should have come to the United States in early April. Mr. Macmillan, who feels that he scored a personal success by getting his idea of successive meetings adopted, seems to have still another personal reservation which he shares with Chancellor Adenauer: numerous indicators attest to a tentative rapprochement between Great Britain and Germany. Obviously, Dr. Adenauer is sensitive to the pressure of certain German steel interests which would like to interest British industry in a European economic policy which would become less dependent on French initiative.

Did the Paris events prove to be much ado about nothing? Simply a feeling-out of the situation, and a putting in place? Yes, almost. With a quasi-reservation, however, which is likewise paradoxical: no one expected that Chiefs of State and Heads of Governments would make trips in order to reach important economic decisions which are ordinarily the province of economic specialists who are both less exalted and more competent in this field. The fact remains, nonetheless, that the economic organization which it was decided to establish and which includes the members of the European Six, and the members of the OEEC, and of the Seven, is of significant interest.

This decision is a sign of Europe's economic vitality. And no one in Europe doubts that the Common Market is the wellspring of this vitality – not even those, especially in France, who were hostile to it. The Common Market is now a reality which must perforce be recognized. The processes whereby it came into being may perhaps have depended on decisions adopted under cover by powerful and obscure cartels. In any case, the results are there. The only real antitrust law operative in the Free World is the one voted on by the representatives of the Six European countries. Industrial expansion and in particular Franco-German expansion, did not begin to interest the United States and disquiet Great Britain until the advent of the Common Market. Men like Mr. Jean Monnet, who worked in silence and obscurity, can congratulate themselves today on their brilliant efficiency: the Paris meeting has confirmed their glowing success. Without the Common Market, neither the OEEC nor the Seven would have desired economic cooperation on the new bases decided upon at Paris.

For all the rest, it was decided to meet again, without any precise notion of what could be jointly agreed upon. But at least on this point there is agreement.

JEAN DANIEL

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Hold Your Breath

If you are in the back seat and the driver takes a corner on two wheels, for Heaven's sake don't yell at him until you are on the straightaway again.

This is what a superficial observer must bear in mind in relation to President Eisenhower's summary and unilateral closing of the moratorium on nuclear bomb explosions. Talk about brinkmanship – the late Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, like a man who had never had delirium tremens, hadn't been nowhere and hadn't seen nothing!

For good or for ill, the thing is done. If it is for good, it will mean a break in the ice-jam of the Cold War. If it is for ill, it will just about ruin the leadership of the United States in the Western world; for it is an attempt to force the hand of the Russians, and if it fails, confidence in American political skill will be shattered beyond repair.

It has obviously caught Comrade Khrushchev in a fine jam. With a discontented and increasingly belligerent Chinese partner behind him, he has been walking on eggs toward the Summit meeting. Now he must take a long stride forward or backward, and either way he will probably run into trouble, if not with Eisenhower, then with Mao.

As a general rule more trouble for Comrade Khrushchev means more tranquility for us, but that is true only to a point; too much trouble would drive him to desperation, which would do nobody any good.

But to anticipate trouble is to invite it. There is a chance that Eisenhower's gamble will pay off, and if it does, it will be a master-stroke. The most apprehensive American should hold that thought for the next few weeks. However doubtful he may be of its efficacy, it is clear-cut, positive action, and in that respect, at least, is an improvement on the inertia of the past seven years. Furthermore, if it works at all, it will inevitably lead to continued action. If Khrushchev should agree to Eisenhower's terms, it will become immediately necessary to work out the details of the inspection system, which will keep the underlings busy for some time, and the way will be clear for the Summit conference to concentrate attention on a real adjustment in Central Europe.

President Eisenhower has assumed responsibility. That is what his critics have been asking him to do for seven years, so in simple fairness they should suspend firing until it is quite clear how his latest move is going to work out. It is not likely that they will have to wait long; perhaps by the time these lines meet the reader's eye it will be evident that Eisenhower has scored a notable triumph or a damaging failure. The probability is, however, that the situation will remain confused for a week or two – not longer.

During that period of confusion it is the obvious duty of all Americans to hope for a happy outcome. It is a duty that lies with especially heavy weight upon those who were most appalled by the sudden decision; for if the thing should backfire, it will require the best efforts of men of all parties to repair the damage, and the country will have small confidence in the repair gang if anything they said or did can be construed as having contributed to the disaster.

For it is a moment of crisis. It is hardly a military crisis, for war would be at least as disastrous for the Russians as for us; but it is a moral crisis of the most terrific nature. We are not risking defeat in battle or loss of territory; what is at stake is the confidence of the rest of the world. If Mr. Eisenhower's decision is construed as evidence of his desire for a genuine, not a pseudo-peace, then our position will be reinforced; but if it is construed – as the Communists will certainly try to construe it – as evidence that our professed love of peace is hypocritical, then we shall have lost all that we have gained since Woodrow Wilson's day.

No patriot cares to dwell even on the possibility of such a calamity. Now is the time for all Americans to assure the world that they look upon Mr. Eisenhower's decision as an effort to substitute enduring peace for the existing uneasy truce, and that kind of effort they will support to the limit, regardless of party, or sect or faction.

To the extent that this is made clear the chances of a fortunate outcome will be increased. For the efficient factor in this situation is not the technical triumphs or errors of our diplomacy. It is what the free nations believe about the temper of the American people; and what they believe is not necessarily the truth, but what from their standpoint seems to be the truth. If we seem to be warmongers, then we might as well be warmongers, as far as the effect on history is concerned; for the rest of the world will take its measures accordingly.

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LABOR DISPUTES

When Should the Government Intervene?

by Harry H. Wellington

Collective bargaining, long considered as irreproachable as motherhood and personal daintiness, may be in for some rough handling this year. Prior to the steel settlement Secretary of Labor Mitchell had said that the President would recommend ways to prevent continuation of the steel strike if negotiations during the 80-day cooling-off period proved fruitless. The settlement now makes it doubtful that the Administration will recommend any radical changes in our national labor program. But the fear of future labor-management impasses in economically crucial industries may persuade some legislators nonetheless to rush in with proposals drastically altering the nature of collective bargaining.

The eleventh hour resolution of the steel dispute is not likely to diminish public support for some change. Many will agree with what A. H. Raskin of the *New York Times* has written: "Collective bargaining is an instrument; it is not a God-given right. To the extent that unions and employers let it fall into disrepute, they compel the government, as the custodian of the welfare of all of us, to take the steps necessary for survival and growth." Also many people may feel, bowed with the accumulated weight of the McClellan revelations, the irksome strikes of 1958 and 1959, and the rumblings of 1960's railroad strike, that any drastic change in labor relations is a change drastically for the better.

Unquestionably the principal target of public and legislative concern will be the national emergency provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act. These provisions, which were in operation in the steel strike, work as follows: When the President determines that a strike or threatened strike or lockout will endanger the national health or safety he can appoint an emergency fact-finding board to report on the situation. In the steel case after attempted conciliation failed, a three man board, headed by Professor George Taylor, was appointed. By statute, the jurisdiction of the fact-finders is strictly limited to information gathering and dispensing. No recommendations are to be submitted.

On the basis of the facts found, the President may request the Attorney General to petition a US District Court for an injunction halting the strike for 80 days. In steel this was done in Pittsburgh, and on October 21, that district court, under Judge Herbert Sorg, issued the injunction after making the finding that a continuation of the strike imperiled the nation's health and safety.

During the course of the 80-day cooling-off period, the parties are obliged to continue collective bargaining. If the dispute is unsettled after 60 of the 80 days, the President reconvenes the emergency fact-finding board to make a public report on the current position of the parties, the settlement efforts made, and the last settlement offer proposed by management. The National Labor Relations Board then conducts, within 15 days, a so-called "last offer ballot" to determine if the striking employees wish to accept this offer. Had there been no settlement in the steel strike, such a ballot would have been held. If the employees reject the offer and no settlement has been reached within the 80-day life of the injunction, the parties concerned are completely free to resume the strike.

The President, however, has an additional statutory obligation. He must submit to Congress a full report of the strike proceedings and whatever recommendations he may see fit to make "for consideration and appropriate action." It was this latter stipulation that added an element of mystery and perhaps of worry to the negotiations in the steel situation. Would the President have limited himself to seeking a solution to the steel strike, or would he have recommended alteration of the entire emergency disputes mechanism and perhaps indeed modification of collective bargaining itself? Neither labor, nor management, nor the public knew.

The better than 12-year history of these national emergency provisions shows their inadequacy. They have been invoked some 17 times, and few if any informed persons believe them to have been of much benefit. Whenever a last offer vote was held, the employees turned management down.

This record of failure indicates several basic weaknesses. First, because the national emergency provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act equip the government with a single, rigidly-defined procedure, the parties to a dispute can calculate with fair accuracy the timing and consequence of government intervention. Accordingly, that

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intervention will be relied upon in the bargaining by one side or other and for this reason is likely to forestall settlement until government action runs its course. Second, a predictable strike injunction is relied upon by the parties as a time for getting their second wind and reassessing the situation. Consequently, pre-injunction settlement is hindered. Third, because the fact-finding board cannot make recommendations, the force of public opinion is not encouraged to cluster around one party or the other and hence to pressure for settlement. Fourth, the publicized "last offer ballot" tends to harden the position of the parties and makes it difficult for them to retreat. Simply put then, the difficulty with the national emergency provisions is that the machinery established by the act tends to impede rather than to facilitate collective bargaining. And yet, collective bargaining is the only method provided for in the statute as a means of resolving the dispute.

Some change in the present set-up is obviously desirable. Yet if we wish to retain our present system of economic capitalism and political democracy, we should, if we can, place principal, though not necessarily exclusive, reliance on free and private bargaining. Extensive government intervention, no matter how engendered, will make the system a different one, and we had better be prepared to know and like what we're getting before we get it, not afterwards.

A Choice of Procedures

The "last offer ballot" should go. It is clearly useless. Senator Taft himself called for its elimination in 1949, though this recommendation along with 27 others died in the House after clearing the Senate. The fact-finding board should be empowered to issue settlement recommendations. This change also was favored by Taft, and the President has recommended it as a final procedural move. Such an alteration would put governmental pressure and public opinion behind one side or the other. Moreover, and perhaps more importantly, since neither side could predict the results of the fact-finding inquiry, settlement prior to the issuance of Board recommendations would be fostered.

This idea is the cornerstone of the Massachusetts law for the peaceful settlement of industrial disputes dangerous to the public health and safety. This "choice of procedure law" – drafted by the late Sumner Slichter – is considered the outstanding method for handling emergency disputes. It provides the state Governor, when he is faced with such a situation, with a panoply of settlement devices from mediation through fact-finding to the extremes of compulsory arbitration and seizure. Rather than abandon themselves to the uncertainty of governmental intervention, the parties subject to such a statute are likely to seek in earnest for an early settlement of their differences. If private settlement does fail, the Chief Executive can then select the most efficacious of his many dispute-settling alternatives.

This "choice of procedures" approach well may be favored by Senator Kennedy who has indicated that his labor subcommittee may hold hearings on ways to improve legislation for emergency disputes.

There are, of course, numerous other suggested methods for the handling of hazardous strike situations. One attempt to eliminate the drastic economic consequences of national emergency disputes – though one almost Shavian in character – is the fascinating, legally dubious, and operationally improbable "statutory strike." This amounts to a strike in which the workers keep working, management keeps managing and the Treasury receives the major share of wages and earnings, which it can keep unless the strike is settled within a specified time period. The "strike" is thus kept a private affair in which nobody seems to suffer but the workers and the bosses.

Another approach in which reliance is placed upon collective bargaining – and again an unlikely one, though this time for political reasons – envisions collective bargaining on a unit-by-unit basis in plants throughout the nation. This proposal is often forwarded as a means of meeting what is called something like "the unbridled power of big labor." Unions, in effect, would be limited to independent local organizations. But an equal limiting of big management, while rarely suggested, is obviously essential to the success of such a scheme. The social and economic, not to mention political, implications of so drastic a measure suggest caution.

Another suggestion, forwarded most recently by Florida's Senator Smathers, and likely to have a fair amount of appeal, is for a United States Court of Labor Management Relations to settle nationwide labor disputes before they lead to crippling strikes. The idea is that this court would have jurisdiction over all national industries and would be used when collective bargaining breaks down. At this point either side would have the right to call in the court which would hear testimony and render a decision from which there would be no appeal. But how collective bargaining could do other than break down or be considered by one side to have broken down in such a situation is certainly an inescapable problem. Such a proposal, therefore, must be classed as one paying no more than lip-service to bargaining. Furthermore, giving any tribunal the power to determine wages, inevitably gives it the power to set or drastically to affect prices. What is left of the economic structure after this happens is something else to consider. This kind of suggestion, providing an easy solution to a complicated problem, is one for which the nation has indicated a rather dangerous passion.

Yet there remains on the part of people in and out of power a growing impatience with collective bargaining. It is an impatience having understandable roots in the

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fear that the nation at this time cannot endure periodic economic crises of unpredictable length and severity.

The impasse in steel, for example, was generally conceded to be a dispute over work rules. It is symptomatic of a new – or is it of a very old – problem in many industries: who is to be boss, or in less evocative terms, whether employment conditions should be unilaterally determined by management or jointly determined by management and labor. This is a somewhat different dispute from the purely economic one about wages and it has consequently manifested itself in a different form. It has become for each side a kind of holy war or possibly a mild paranoia, with each receiving succor and support from its fellows to an unprecedented degree.

Ending the "Holy War"

One is forced to ask to what extent this type of dispute lends itself to settlement via the normal course of collective bargaining. When the issues are seen in terms of right and justice, not to mention self-preservation, to suggest a "bargain" is almost traitorous. If this is so, those solutions referred to earlier which rely principally on private settlement might not save the day for collective bargaining after all.

Other paths to end the "holy war" should be considered. The extent of joint control over working conditions might be solved by direct government action without abandoning collective bargaining in other areas. The National Labor Relations Act could be amended to empower the Labor Board when disputes arise to demarcate the areas of joint and unilateral control. Indeed, prior to 1952 the National Labor Relations Board had required all matters relating to terms and conditions of employment to be jointly determined. Until that time, an employer would have been held to have committed an unfair labor practice if he insisted upon the unilateral control of work rules. The Board's reading of the National Labor Relations Act, however, was not sustained by the Supreme Court. The fact that the Court's construction of the statute was probably correct does not, of course, mean the statute should not be changed.

Now ideally, it is better for management and labor in different industries to resolve such a question with a minimum of government interference. But if the cost of such resolution is emasculating the national economy it may be necessary to remove such matters from the give and take of negotiation.

There are further complications making it questionable how far we should rely on collective bargaining in resolving disputes of importance to the national welfare. In some industries – and steel may be one – the economic interest of the union and the employer are, within broad limits, not really inimical. In certain basic industries, where the product is essential and the source of supply limited, wage increases to employees can readily be passed along to the employers' customer in the form of a price increase. A wage increase makes the workers happy, and because it really costs him little or nothing, it makes the employer happy. Up until this present dispute, this has more or less been the history of steel negotiations since the war. Wages in steel have risen from an average of $1.18 to $3.10 an hour and are currently the highest for any major industry. Steel prices since the war have risen also from about $55 a ton to roughly $150 a ton. This represents nearly four times as fast a price increase as has generally occurred.

Now collective bargaining rests on the assumption that the public will be protected by the countervailing power of labor and management, the assumption that these parties have basically conflicting interests and that by each pursuing its own interest, power is balanced off and the public is protected from unfair prices or unjustified wages. Remove the conflict and you remove the protection. Remove the protection and private collective bargaining becomes difficult to justify: somehow, the public interest must be protected. The crucial question is whether this is possible without giving government a substantial role.

All of this suggests that the time may be at hand for a thorough and a careful re-examination of our present system of collective bargaining. Changes in our economy, in the ways that businesses and unions operate, in the concentration of economic power and, indeed, in our world posture, may necessitate modification of our present national program for ordering labor-management relations. Such a re-examination will probably show that decimating change is not required. Hasty change never is. But if study and experience fail to fulfill this hope, then there must be change. This is the teaching of Mr. Justice Brandeis: "If we would guide by the light of reason, we must let our minds be bold."

THE STATE OF THE UNIONS

by *Warner Bloomberg, Jr., Joel Seidman* and *Victor Hoffmann*

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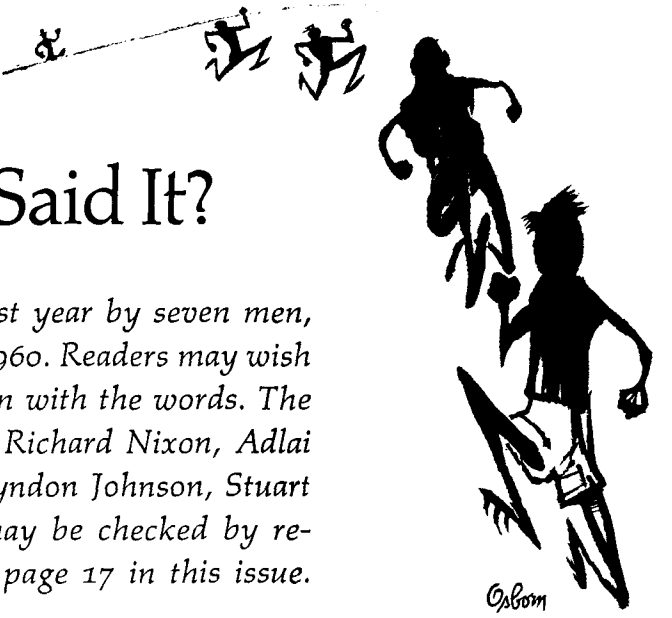
AN UNRIGGED QUIZ



Which Candidate Said It?

The following are statements made during the past year by seven men, any one of whom might be elected President in 1960. Readers may wish to test their political acumen by matching the man with the words. The quotations are taken from speeches or articles by Richard Nixon, Adlai Stevenson, John Kennedy, Hubert Humphrey, Lyndon Johnson, Stuart Symington and G. Mennen Williams. Answers may be checked by referring to the source of each statement, given on page 17 in this issue.

1. "A nuclear war is horrible to contemplate. But also horrible is the prospect of a United States and a free world so weak that domination by the Soviet dictatorship becomes unavoidable."
2. "Our television programs, advertisements, popular literature – our culture, glorifies youth. And concommitantly, it has tended to relegate our aged to a second-class status. This national attitude reflects a topsy-turvy sense of values. Only occasionally are we reminded of the supreme virtue of age and wisdom."
3. "Ours is an incentive system, which is the businessman's way of saying this is a system of individual men and women who are not compelled, but who choose to do what they wish to do."
4. "I think we must have a new foreign policy, a bold foreign policy, a fresh foreign policy."
5. "The American people and the Soviet people are as one in their desire for peace. And our desire for peace is not because either of us is weak. On the contrary, each of us is strong and respects the strength the other possesses."
6. "If we fall too far behind or reduce our military strength – without equivalent Soviet concessions – we may find Mr. Khrushchev's interest in negotiation has diminished. We must not tempt the Russians with weakness."
7. "It is far better that we meet at the Summit than at the brink."
8. "I believe that unwarranted governmental intervention in collective bargaining can lead only to the destruction of a system of free industrial government which has been painstakingly built up in the past 25 years."
9. "The worker's right to join with other workers in a union and to bargain collectively with management is recognized and protected by law. No man or woman in the United States can be forced to work for wages he considers to be inadequate or under conditions he believes are unsatisfactory."
10. "Our aspirations as the most powerful leader of the Free World conflict with their aspirations as the most powerful leader of the Communist world. No negotiations can end those differences. No exchange of personal visits, no amount of Summit conferences, can cause either side to compromise away its fundamental position in Germany, Europe or the world community."
11. "We have increased expenditures for health and for education and for the welfare of our people, but we have cut out the fat and waste in a good many of the civilian programs."
12. "We need to reinforce our belief in the importance of man as an end in himself; and with this renewed respect for human life, we need to replace a politics of destruction with a politics of creativity."
13. "Surely our party must never deny its highest honor to anyone because he is controversial – whether because of his religious faith or because of the depth of his belief in human rights."
14. "We can have economic growth *without* inflation."
15. "The nations whose economies the United States has helped to restore should assume a much larger share of the burden of aiding the underdeveloped countries."
16. "Neither the US nor the USSR wants a nuclear war. Neither wants to set the fire that may extinguish civilization as we know it before its own flames are finally extinguished – the war that would leave not one Rome intact but two Carthages destroyed – and would at the very least set back by a generation or more the efforts in both nations to make economic, social and cultural progress."
17. "I think people are the most important single characteristic of life on this earth today."

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18. "We should welcome and encourage a greater exchange of persons and ideas between the Free World and the Communist world."
19. "Alongside of education, we must have a positive program for economic growth. Alongside of both, we must have a positive program for peace and disarmament."
20. "What is America's *manifest destiny* today? I believe it is to promote human dignity at home and throughout the world."
21. "We should extend our test suspension so long as negotiations continue in good faith and Russia maintains a similar suspension."
22. "We respect new ideas and we respect the people who have them. For we know that our country has surmounted great crises in the past, not because of our wealth, not because of our rhetoric, not because we had longer cars and whiter iceboxes and bigger television screens than anyone else, but because our ideas were more compelling and more penetrating and more wise and enduring."
23. "There should be a much more effective use of religion as an antidote to Communism. Eighty percent of the people held in bondage behind the Iron Curtain are Christians. A large percentage of them are devout; and therefore, when their beliefs rub against the atheistic policies of their Communist rulers, friction is automatic. We have not yet made full use of our creeds and religious convictions as a weapon in this Cold War. . . . Why not, for example, translate and dramatize some of the outstanding religious broadcasts we hear on our own networks every Sunday."
24. "Isn't it terrible that we raise food and fiber that three billion people, these hungry people need – little children dying of hunger with sores on their faces – and the only place we got to send it is a guy with storage that costs $100 million a year. Somewhere in this world there's a hungry face and a naked body that needs every ounce of food and every pound of fiber we can produce – and all we can do with it is let it rot in storage."
25. "The United States should take the initiative in proposing that in future international agreements provisions be included to the effect that disputes which may arise as to the interpretation of the agreement should be submitted to the International Court and that the nations signing the agreement should be bound by the decision of the court in such cases. There is no more effective way that we can show the world by our example that the rule of law, even in the most trying circumstances, is the one system which all free men of good will must support."
26. "The time when one nation could gain an advantage over another which would assure victory in war in any real sense is now gone. Mr. Khrushchev himself has said, 'Should a world war break out, no country would be able to shut itself off from a crushing blow'. This in effect means that war on a world scale is obsolete as a method of settlement of international disputes."
27. "To demonstrate that *we* are the true revolutionaries, not the Communists, whose monolithic structure is as old as Ancient Egypt – to show that we represent the age of the future, that they are the past – all this will require a greater discipline, a greater sacrifice and a greater vitality than our country has ever known."
28. "I think our needs could be covered by existing tax rates at higher levels of economic growth."
29. "If nuclear testing is not immediately stopped, several nations will possess atomic weapons by 1969. Every hour of every day, during that period the next Administration will serve, devastation will be literally only minutes away."
30. "I am sure that Mr. Khrushchev could not have helped but have been impressed by the fact that there were no more articulate and uncompromising opponents of Communism in this country than the leaders of free trade unions who were elected to the offices they hold by the very workers to whom Communism is supposed to have its greatest appeal."
31. "Charm, words of friendship, gracious toasts, are not going to have the slightest effect in deterring Mr. Khrushchev from his basic objectives."
32. "Freedom must have a floor on which free men can stand together as they reach for the heavens in this age of space."
33. "Some of the strongest and most basic traditions which have characterized our way of life are being changed in a way which cripples the strength of America. Let us take one example – the family-size dairy farm. . . . We have no finer people than the men and women who milk the cows, 14 times a week – Sunday and holidays included. . . . These farmers want to work together, elect their own boards and officials, handle more of their business affairs. They want more say-so about the price tag on the milk they sell. They want a new system, run by farmers for farmers – not by bureaucrats who do not have the farmer's interest at heart."
34. "Let our aim be not victory over other peoples but the victory of all mankind over hunger, want, misery and disease, wherever it exists in the world."
35. "We will balance the budget. We will pay – as this nation ought to pay – on the national debt. We will restore the dollar to soundness."
36. "What we need is more national wealth and production – more production every year to accommodate our growing population, our growing needs and our growing responsibilities."
37. "I think the idea of limiting all testing to above 31 miles and to underground tests is a sound approach."

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The Cool Mr. Kennedy

by Richard L. Strout

Of all the Presidential candidates of 1960 Senator John Kennedy's public image differs most sharply from the reality. With his boyish grin and unruly shock of hair he looks like an attractive graduate student going through the PhD mill. Instead of that, says his biographer in a fascinating book, "he is a serious, driven man, about as casual as a cash register. . . ." He has many of the qualities of the intellectual, is absent-minded, loves to read, ruminate, analyze. "He is happiest not in social gatherings but sitting in bed, bespectacled, going through a recent biography. . . ." There is a quality about him that causes sympathetic Professor Burns some uneasiness – it is of detachment, independence, noncommitment. There is a coolness and restraint – he does not lift an audience by the passion of his utterance; there is some question whether he feels the passion. "One word describes Kennedy more exactly than any other – self-possession. He has never been seen – even by his mother – in raging anger or uncontrollable tears."

John Kennedy: A Political Profile
by James MacGregor Burns
(Harcourt, Brace; $4.75)

Senator Kennedy has gone all-out to give his biographer material, has opened confidential files and provided headline-catching direct quotations. In view of this, can a biographer in a campaign year maintain historical and professional detachment? Nathaniel Hawthorne, you remember, didn't: he wrote a campaign plug for Franklin Pierce and got a consulate. In contrast the book by Burns is friendly but offers reservations and qualifications: perhaps in the long run the book will be more helpful to the senator's candidacy that way.

Kennedy couldn't see anything particularly wrong with McCarthyism, at least at first. Probably there was more pro-McCarthy sentiment in Boston than in any other American city. Young Kennedy represented a Boston district. The clash of two cultures characterized the environment. Protestant reformers put passionate emphasis on civil liberties, tolerance, intellectual freedom, and social equality; on philosophical rationalism and pragmatism. Part of this seemed strange and repugnant to the Irish, and the Catholic Church frowned on many of its manifestations. Kennedy looked on the McCarthy issue with "nonchalance and minimal concern." As senator, he decided to vote for the final censure resolution on legal rather than moral grounds and prepared a speech which was never delivered: he went to the hospital instead for drastic surgery on his back. He was listed as "absent" in the final 67 to 22 vote, rather than "paired" – in which case he would have had to take sides. Nothing has caused the senator more trouble since, says his biographer. He did not take a public stand from 1950, when McCarthyism became a public issue, to 1954, when the Senate finally voted censure. Mrs. Roosevelt has been, and is, critical of his silence.

Burns thinks the explanation is pretty largely that Kennedy was not really emotionally committed at this time to the civil-liberties heritage which was not part of his family tradition. "The central clue to Kennedy's position on the question," he says, "is this: He was shaping his liberalism by fits and starts, out of his experience with concrete problems." Apparently the senator feels it is too late for him now to make any concession on the subject, though Burns does quote him as saying, "It was only later that I got into the stream of things."

Under the chapter heading "Kennedy and the Catholics" Burns gives a full and frank discussion of the thorny religious issue. It is one that many readers will turn to first. Here is the first serious Catholic Presidential candidacy since Al Smith's. But how different: "With his wealth, Harvard education, intellectual attainments," (he is a Pulitzer prize winner), "Brahmin accent, and cosmopolitan background and outlook, he stands culturally at the opposite pole from Smith. He has made precisely the transition that Smith refused to make – from the lower middle class of Beals Street to a place among the social elite."

Kennedy's sister is the widowed Marchioness of Hartington, daughter-in-law of the Duke of Devonshire. The senator's father, former ambassador to England, gave each of his nine children a million dollars when they came of age so that they could look him in the face and tell him where to get off if they wanted to. Joseph Kennedy has given millions to Catholic charities but on the other hand he did not send his sons to parochial schools – Jack was in a Catholic school only one year in his life, and that taught by layman.

It appears that the senator is willing to discuss the intimate subject of his religion frankly and good-humoredly with sensible people, and that he does not feel it an unreasonable matter of debate. It will be hard for the impartial reader not to come away with a feeling that Kennedy means what he says when he "denies that he would respond to any effort by Catholic authorities to control his public actions, or, indeed, that such efforts would be made."

In the final analysis another matter seems to cause Burns some hesitation in summing up. Kennedy's record is liberal and his competence and maturity are evident, but there is a certain dispassionate lack of commitment behind his driving ambition. Is there that within his detached and lively intelligence that would inspire crowds, lift hearts, and sway multitudes? Burns is sure Kennedy would bring bravery and wisdom to the White House, but would he also bring "passion and power"?

That would depend, says Burns, "on his making a commitment not only of mind, but of heart, that until now he has never been required to make."

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Who Likes Americans and Who Cares?

by Patrick O'Donovan

This is a nice high-minded book and very American. It would be churlish to criticize the good intentions that shine out of its pages. It is a monument to the American longing for self-punishment, for the forbidden knowledge of what other peoples *really* think of them. It is a passion that is cooling now and this book, many of whose contributors are a little out of date, may be accepted as a monument to that tiresome need for international affection expressed in terms proper only to personal relations.

As Others See Us
The United States Through Foreign Eyes
Edited by Franz M. Joseph
(Princeton; $6)

In the course of *As Others See Us*, the Americans are given a deal of good advice. Most of it is on the line that America should try to be a little more like the contributor's country. For the book is a collection of essays by people of varying distinction from Britain, Spain, Egypt, Israel, Iran, India, Indonesia, the Philippines, Ghana, South Africa, Canada, Mexico, Chile and Cuba.

It opens appropriately enough with an Academic Overture by Professor Denis Brogan of Cambridge, he of the prodigious memory and the fascinated understanding of America. His theme is the image of America that is held by politicians and intellectuals in Europe and it is an image that he has played a major role in creating. He is one of the few that does not suggest that even if we foreigners are not so rich or so happy, we have spiritual resources that are unknown in the US. He recounts the growing admiration for the many material benefits that are spread over America, the strange ambivalent admiration for parts of the American system that promises to divide the British left. It is a story of intellectual change in Europe and he ends, "The basic relationship . . . is to be found in the ineluctable fact that in the United States is to be seen the model of modern progressive society – fluid, comparatively classless, technically enterprising, materially rewarding – that all the free world envies, copies, admires and fears."

The fact of America's material success, that she has conquered, almost, the chief problem that faces the other contributors acts on these writers like a lighthouse to a flock of migrant birds. Frightened and fascinated, trying at times to fight the attraction, they come back again and again and in the process succeed in writing far more about their own countries than they do about America. For, if you admit the splendor of the light, then you must find other compensations in not possessing it.

Give them their due, their efforts at impartiality would do honor to a Hague court judge. The Indian writes elegantly and with love. He finds America the most misunderstood of countries. His piece is notable for the admission that India itself is capable of error. And, a little tortured, he has this to offer you: "American statesmanship, it sometimes seems, would benefit considerably from acting more often on the Gita principle of 'finding full reward of right in doing right'. . . . Its effectiveness would then be greater since it would not be driven off course by frequent heart burning about the ungratefulness and misunderstandings of others."

The Indonesian found America a great deal less dreadful than his first impression suggested. He writes charmingly and with an objectivity, surely learned here, about his own people. He too has suggestions – more care and respect for the aged, more control over children. Very tentatively he suggests you adopt "perhaps a bit of the happy serenity and peace of mind reflected in the Balinese paintings, a bit of the deep contemplation expressed by the Javanese Gamelan, a bit of the sadness of the Sudanese bamboo-flute, because, knowing sadness, one can enjoy happiness better."

The Philippino Lady is a little resentful of her all-American education. She remembers some acts of racial rudeness and exclusion that loom as large as the kindnesses. She is a little troubled with induced inferiority feelings which interfere with her admirations. The man from Ghana is almost unreservedly enthusiastic and compares American education very favorably with that of Britain. (It is a curious fact that anyone writing kindly about Britain from a third country is driven to write unfavorably about America and the reverse is also true.) The Egyptian says of his own country: "She bears no malice or hatred for any people or any country" and probably even believes it. If any American still wants to be convinced that it is All Right to be an American, that they are taken seriously, loved and understood, this is the book for him. He must excise from his mind the thought that a group of similarly eminent people, chosen on a slightly different bias, could have given a totally different verdict.

The real truth is that it does not matter much what foreign students and even intellectuals think of America. Foreign policy, except on tremendous issues, is rarely affected by public opinion. The relations between countries are governed by the current conception of their own interests (which, of course, may be a very wrong one) and is little affected by the fact that ten percent of the electorate has had a holiday in Boulogne or had a semester at Yale. The subjective experiences of these men and women, then, may be interesting, but they become important only when the writer stands back and grows objective about the policy of his own government and tries to analyze the real nature of their relationship with America. It is not always a very pleasant or easy thing to do. Few of the contributors to this volume have dared to attempt it.

ANSWERS TO
"AN UNRIGGED QUIZ"

1. Humphrey, 2. Williams, 3. Stevenson, 4. Johnson, 5. Nixon, 6. Stevenson, 7. Kennedy, 8. Symington, 9. Nixon, 10. Kennedy, 11. Johnson, 12. Williams, 13. Humphrey, 14. Williams, 15. Stevenson, 16. Kennedy, 17. Symington, 18. Nixon, 19. Williams, 20. Williams, 21. Stevenson, 22. Kennedy, 23. Symington, 24. Johnson, 25. Nixon, 26. Nixon, 27. Kennedy, 28. Stevenson, 29. Kennedy, 30. Nixon, 31. Nixon, 32. Johnson, 33. Symington, 34. Nixon, 35. Johnson, 36. Symington, 37. Symington.

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The Cross and the Couch

by Daniel M. Friedenberg

The novel, seeking a reprieve from the death sentence passed by most august literary judges, has been exploring strange labyrinths. The self-respecting writer no longer can merely tell a story; we know all the stories. Nor can he instruct; science resents amateur intrusion. The modern writer with a creative itch must be a philosopher. For this reason the great majority of the better novels today deal with aberration or crisis, drunkards, drug addicts, sex deviates, adolescents, concentration camp inmates, persons whose atypic circumstance permits them to view the so-called normal world with clearer eyes.

The Treatment Man
by William Wiegand
(McGraw-Hill; $3.95)

William Wiegand, whose *The Treatment Man* won the Joseph Henry Jackson Award for the best novel written on the West Coast during the past year, has used the "model" penitentiary as the lens for a searching look at the world. The plot of *The Treatment Man* is seemingly simple, the story of a riot as it builds up, discharges and then subsides; or, as the author mockingly entitles the three divisions of the book, the well-ordered community, disorder and order restored.

In the well-ordered community, Deputy Warden Pryor, himself a former "hood," is the Treatment Man for prisoners, the psychologist who applies therapy in an attempt to rehabilitate criminals. Conscious of his power, convinced that he understands the inmates, he has begun to confuse his superior intuitions with a form of self-divinity. His counterpart, a convict named Roy Kinney, the underworld "Deputy" who organizes the homosexual sale of new inmates for a combination of money and power gratification, is a man remarkably similar in nature to the Deputy Warden. A curious symbiotic relation exists between the two which helps keep peace in the Institution.

The well-ordered community founders when a 19-year-old boy by the name of Tavener, refusing to submit to sodomy with the inmate to whom Kinney has sold him, commits an irrational act which disturbs the wierd logic holding the hallucinatory world together. The prisoners then make a break for freedom which, when thwarted, turns into a frenzy of sexual orgy and sadism. In a savage conflict of wills, both Deputy Warden Pryor and the convict leader Kinney try desperately to maintain power both in relation to each other and with their respective followers. Order is restored only after both men have been destroyed in the collapse of their illusory dream of imitating God. In a final ironic note, the young boy Tavener, who started the chain of events by his refusal to participate in sodomy, is castrated.

The Institution behind high concrete walls is human existence. Pryor and Kinney are opposite faces of the same will to power through cunning and manipulation. The truth the author preaches is that the world can only be made more humane through compassion rather than knowledge: "Charity never faileth: but whether there be prophecies, they shall fail; whether there be tongues, they shall cease; whether there be knowledge, it shall vanish away."

It follows from this vision that only through a more Christian attitude is there any hope for man; and William Wiegand, by his muted anti-Protestant remarks, means the Catholic faith. Mr. Wiegand considers the various Protestant beliefs as mere athletic Christianity, a vast Y.M.C.A., having little reference to spiritual agony and redemption. The hero in *The Treatment Man* is Father Carey, the Catholic priest, who collapses at the first stage of the revolt and later returns to guard his Church.

Now, "Muscular Christianity" can be mocked at, but modern penology is largely a result of Protestant meliorism. Although no one can legislate evil and pathologic power drives out of the human heart, it is to be doubted if Mr. Wiegand would say modern corrective institutions are as bad as the early 19th-Century Bedlams so eloquently attacked by Dickens, or, for that matter, as the Spanish Catholic "reformatory" described in *A Child of Our Time* by Michel del Castillo only last year. It is significant that the saintly Father Carey, when finally aroused, stands ready to defend his Church; but it is the Eternal Church, and not the men, he is concerned with. This is good Catholic doctrine, but not necessarily of much immediate aid to the inmates. It may be true that life is a dream, that we are all prisoners of the Institution, but we can still try to use what knowledge we have to make it a good dream and not a bad dream. There is no automatic conflict between charity and knowledge, as Mr. Wiegand seems to feel.

The author's other vendetta is with modern psychology. *Either* confession . . . *or* psychoanalysis, is the Kierkegaardian alternate. When analyzing the success of the Deputy Warden, Pryor, Mr. Wiegand sarcastically refers to him as "a living and breathing demonstration of the soundness of the promises of Freud, just as Christ, living and dying, was the demonstration of the absolute soundness of the promises of God." And he continues: "A man becomes a Messiah with a jade ring and a sports car, because that was the only way we could recognize him. We wouldn't be fooled by stories about a virgin birth. We were pros."

The author is so determined to put down false pride that he rejects all human attempts to explore the mind of man. But the purpose of psychology is humane and affirmative. To summarily condemn psychology for its limits and abuses is on a level with Know-Nothing rejection of "the international Vatican conspiracy."

A curious aspect of this rejection is that the Wiegand's technique is permeated by the psychological school of writing. He rejects Freud in the language of Freud; or one could better say, he accepts Christ through the message of Freud. Mr. Wiegand is more "20th-Century," more "agonized," more "Christian" only as he rejects on the intellectual level what he accepts instinctively. In fact, he may be a proof, in his own terms, of Freud's victory over Christ.

The Treatment Man is a very uneven book. The first half nearly persuades us that at last America has produced a Kafka: the pervasive sickly atmosphere, the unreal world of the Institution whose inner reality is as gripping as *The Trial*. The spirit here is far removed from facile American optimism. But the

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latter part of the novel peters out. As order begins to be restored, the nightmarish quality becomes slightly *comical*. The personages do not unroll in accordance with what we have been led to expect – Deputy Warden Pryor, for example, suddenly becomes a man of warm dignity; and the Warden, a former Marine Colonel, turns out to be a pacifist – and the distortion of the rhythm leads to a break in tension.

The redeeming trait of William Wiegand is that *he cares*. The issues of religious faith, of compassion and personal redemption, even of the depth and meaning of psychologic probing, are no mere drapery. Mr. Wiegand wants to know; he is not satisfied with glib scientific and pseudo-scientific answers to the questions that count the most. He knows that the premises of a Marquis de Sade and a Hitler have not been answered on philosophical grounds and, though he may attempt to refute modern solutions by a return to the reassurances of faith, at least he clearly shows that the shallow rationalist is no closer to an answer than he is.

TELEVISION

Who'll Buy My Time?

Now television has been investigated, the Attorney General has reported to the President, the critics have thundered, and the public, in Ike's phrase, is "almost dismayed." When Congress gets to work next week, is there a chance television will be restored as a public concern, impressed with a public trust? (The words are Herbert Hoover's.) Where is there anyone who thinks so? The FCC will undoubtedly be given firm directives, and new energy, but it is too late. Its method of licensing has not only failed to impress some measure of public trust on the licensees, but has actually transferred power over broadcasting from the government to the owners (who include a score of Congressmen and their families), and the owners are slaves to the advertisers. And at the heart of every suggestion for reform are measures to remove the advertisers from control.

The FCC's reluctance to use its power to allot and revoke licenses stemmed from a real feeling of hopelessness. An ex-FCC legal aide summed it up: "It doesn't make much difference who is operating these stations. One of these guys is not going to be better than another." It is possible of course that under such conditions the stations should never have been operated, but what actually happened was that the FCC allotted licenses more or less by lot or pressure, not having any other way to choose among the applicants. Thus the broadcaster has nothing to fear from FCC, and once in command of his station, little from his local Congressman. The only man he fears is the advertiser. And now is the moment when many of them could have struck their chains, but the odds are they spent their Christmas holiday locking them tighter, appealing to their Congressional friends to let them work out their problem on their own. But with the best of good will, they cannot.

Consider the CBS President, Frank Stanton. He wants to accept the control and responsibility for what goes on his network, but his chances of doing so are nil. He would give too great a competitive advantage to NBC and ABC. The latter shows every sign of continuing its policy of abject commercialism, and so long as it does, CBS and NBC will not be able to demand surrender of control from their own advertisers.

What is needed is a set of rules for broadcasting that will give equal protection to the three networks, and eliminate the unfair advantage the less public-minded broadcasters will always retain in the present state of things. It should be law that networks and stations may sell only time for advertisements, as magazines sell pages, and as the British ITV successfully does at present. But Stanton, and his counterpart at NBC, Robert Sarnoff, cannot risk asking for this protection of their virtue. They will be offending the vast majority of their customers, even, sadly the many advertisers who would willingly and happily surrender the responsibility for editorial content, and all the difficult and expensive problems it brings. If anything is going to be done to help Dr. Stanton and Mr. Sarnoff, it is going to have to be done in spite of them, and Congress must disregard their half-hearted protests, to do what is necessary. How long is it since Congress took such a cold bath?

In the meantime, reform has begun in another quarter this year, without much notice in print. It is that public affairs programs have suddenly become profitable, and making virtue profitable is next to godliness. The NBC and CBS public affairs news specials – Ed Murrow's documentaries, NBC's coverage of the Eisenhower trip – are sold out for the year. On CBS alone, according to *Variety*, some $40 million worth of news and documentaries have been bought by advertisers, who, we have fair assurance, are not controlling content or treatment.

Not all of these sales and productions are reaction to the scandals. Some are the product of simple discouragement. NBC is conceding Saturday night to CBS' *Have Gun – Will Travel* and *Gunsmoke*, which destroyed *Five Fingers*, an expensive and second-rate mystery series scheduled opposite. NBC is replacing it with a news series.

There is an object lesson in the power of advertisers in NBC's troubles with the Ted Bates agency over cigaret sponsorship of the network coverage of Eisenhower in Europe. The network tried to cancel the agency order for $500,000 worth of time, because Brown & Williamson, makers of *Life* cigarets has a stentorian pitch (26 percent less nicotine than the next best brand) which the Federal Trade Commission says is untrue. Brown & Williamson claims it doesn't actually say this is true on the air, it only states that these "facts are on file with the US Government." It is perfectly true that the FTC has these figures and claims in its files just as facts about Al Capone are on file at the FBI. NBC couldn't break its contract, but the Bates agency skipped the government files for the duration of the Eisenhower coverage. And the President was thus in the position of shilling a cigaret his own Administration had tried to give up but couldn't break the habit.

FRANK R. PIERSON

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RECORDS

From the Operatic Literature

Purcell's *King Arthur*, on Oiseau-Lyre OL-50176/7 (mono) and SOL-60008/9 (stereo), doesn't overwhelm one as *The Fairy Queen* does with the profusion and expressive variety of its superb writing; but the music is characteristically engaging, and includes things as lovely as the song "How happy the lover" and as imaginatively written in addition as the song of the two sirens, "Two daughters of this aged stream," the passage in which the chorus quivers with cold, the phrase in which Cupid sings the words "Stretch out thy lazy limbs." Much of the solo singing – by Elsie Morison, among others – is good; but a few of the voices are not agreeable to the ear. There are a good chorus and orchestra; and Anthony Lewis conducts effectively. The thinner and sharper monophonic sound needs reduction of treble.

London A-4342 (mono) and OSA-1305 (stereo) offer the first recorded performance of another English opera, Benjamin Britten's *Peter Grimes*. One of the Britten's characteristics is a resourcefulness and facility in the use of the resources of his medium, which on occasion – notably in *The Rape of Lucrece* – has achieved only a hubbub that is the mere pretense at writing music; but *Peter Grimes* has writing in which the resourcefulness operates freshly and creatively in the services of real imaginative effort for the dramatic purpose. It is, I remember from the Metropolitan production, music which effectively carries and points up the happenings on the stage; but it is, I find now, music which much of the time has, beyond its dramatic usefulness, no intrinsic quality to make it interesting to listen to by itself – the quality, for example, that melody might have and that the actual recitative and arioso don't have. The performance conducted by Britten – with a cast headed by Peter Pears, James Pease and Claire Watson, and the chorus and orchestra of Covent Garden – is excellent.

It took the Metropolitan until last year to produce Verdi's *Macbeth* the first time; and RCA Victor's recording of this production on LM-6147 (mono) and LSC-6147 (stereo) is the first we have had of the entire work sung in Italian. *Macbeth* is perhaps the most remarkable of Verdi's early operas, offering not only the usual mixture of writing in the sometimes laughable conventional styles of the period, and writing in which Verdi operates creatively, which is to say with freedom and force, in response to expressive need, but carrying this operation to sheer incandescence in the sustained vocal invention and the supporting orchestral writing of the Sleepwalking Scene, which stands out as his most extraordinary achievement in the early operas and one that ranks with such later achievements of matured powers as Philip's soliloquy in *Don Carlo*. In the Metropolitan-Victor performance the Lady Macbeth is Leonie Rysanek, who has a voice of unusual beauty and power in the high range that is employed so much in the opera and uses it with a dramatic expressiveness that makes her singing excitingly impressive in spite of the weakness of her lower notes. The title role is sung by Leonard Warren, much of the time continently and beautifully, but some of the time with exaggerated expressiveness and mouthing that make him as much a ham in his singing as in his acting. Lesser roles have the sumptuous base of Jerome Hines and the somewhat dry tenor of Carlo Bergonzi; there are good work by the chorus and orchestra, good pacing of the music by Erich Leinsdorf, and monophonic sound which is almost as fine as the stereophonic.

As for more familiar matters, the new *Lucia di Lammermoor* with Callas, on Angel 3601 (mono) and S-3601 (stereo), offers more beautiful-sounding reproduction than the old one, and this reproduction of, among other things, the more beautiful playing of the London Philharmonia under Serafin. But the other things include the Callas voice of today with its thinness, shrillness and wobble, as against the fullness and lovely bloom, the suppleness and the steadiness of the voice in the old recording. And they include the dessicated Tagliavini voice of today, as against the fresher Di Stefano voice of the old recording.

Of the mad scenes from Thomas' *Hamlet*, Donizetti's *Anna Bolena* and Bellini's *Il Pirata* that Callas sings with the London Philharmonia under Rescigno on Angel 35764, it is only the last – and specifically the beautiful *"Col sorriso d'innocenza"* – that I find interesting. Callas' wobble sounds at times like a trill.

On the other hand the soprano Joan Sutherland sings arias from *Lucia*, Donizetti's *Linda di Chamounix* and Verdi's *Ernani* and *I Vespri Siciliani* with breathtaking ease, accuracy and tonal beauty on London 5515 (mono) and OS-25111 (stereo; reduce bass). Nello Santi conducts the Paris Conservatory Concerts Orchestra.

And Anna Moffo delights ear and mind with her luscious voice and plastic phrasing in the arias from Mozart's *Figaro, Don Giovanni, The Magic Flute, Così fan Tutte* and other Mozart pieces that she sings with fine accompaniments by the London Philharmonia under Galliera on Angel 35716 (mono), which reproduces the voice with less beauty than S-35716 (stereo).

Frida Leider, whom we know here only as a great Wagnerian soprano, turns out to be an equally impressive singer of Mozart, Verdi, Weber and Beethoven in the early acoustically recorded performances dubbed onto Scala 835. And the beautiful light tenor of the famous Leonid Sobinoff is heard on Rococo 19 in acoustically recorded performances of arias from *Eugene Onegin* and other Russian operas and also from *Don Pasquale, Marta, The Pearl Fishers* and other west-European works.

Stereophonic versions of previously issued recordings that give finer sound than the monophonic are Angel S-3559, with *The Barber of Seville*; London OSA-1405, with *La Forza del Destino*; and London OS-25020, with the Tebaldi performances of arias from *Figaro*,

Notes on Contributors

Richard L. Strout *is a veteran Washington newsman.* Patrick O'Donovan *is Washington correspondent of* The Observer *(London).* Daniel M. Friedenberg *is a young New Yorker who has written extensively about ethics and faith.*

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Rossini's *William Tell* and lesser works previously issued on 5202 (mono). I advise against London OSA-1401, with *Don Giovanni*, because of the occasional altered sound of the voices; and OSA-1402, with *Figaro*, because of the changes in the voices' distances from the microphone in successive pieces, and the remaining distortion on sides 4 and 8 – remaining, that is, of what disappeared after the first playing of these London stereophonic versions.

An outstanding event is Angel's reissue of the pre-war Schnabel performances of Mozart's Concertos K.467 and 595 on COLH-67, which makes it possible to hear again, among other things, Schnabel's unique realization of the extraordinary Andante movement of K.467.

And Leon Fleisher, on Epic LC-3584, gives us clear and beautiful articulation of Mozart's Sonata K.330 that is in interesting contrast to the sharper pointing up of phrase by Glenn Gould on Columbia ML-5274. Fleisher also plays the fine Sonata K.282 and Rondo K.485.

B. H. HAGGIN

ART

Beatniks and Beaux

The World of James McNeill Whistler, as reconstructed by Horace Gregory, the poet and former art critic of this journal, was not only the Czarist Russia, ante-bellum United States, student Paris and artistic London in which the painter lived; nor was it only the combination of painterly vision and aesthetic doctrine that Whistler fashioned for himself and expressed on canvas, in the etchings and from the lecture platform; in addition to these Whistler's world was a professional attitude toward society at large, an attitude which certainly survived the artist, which from one point of view in art history may be considered at least as important as his work, and which is built upon the absolute value of the work of art.

The World of James McNeill Whistler
by Horace Gregory
(Nelson; $5)

Observations
Photographs by Richard Avedon
Comments by Truman Capote
(Simon and Schuster; $15)

The Americans
Photographs by Robert Frank
Introduction by Jack Kerouac
(Grove; $7.50)

It is the emergence and manifestations of this attitude that constitute the main narrative line of the book. The attitude essentially is that of Baudelaire's "dandy." Whistler's model was not Baudelaire but Delacroix, from whom the American borrowed the idea of lavender gloves. Whistler's own lavender gloves, interestingly enough, were picked up by Marcel Proust as a souvenir. The attitude responsible for the gloves became embodied in the turn-of-the-century *Yellow Book*, in Pound, Eliot and Yeats, and in Whistler's younger contemporary, Oscar Wilde.

In the names mentioned, as in much of Whistler's own practice, the point of the attitude is the creation of art which exists in itself. The negative half of the attitudes, the total disdain for society at large, takes over in Dada and very likely in abstract expressionism. This disdain is a major preoccupation in Whistler's growth as recorded by Mr. Gregory. Yet, as the author points out, the disdain is coupled with a longing for fame that never died, and both are mixed up with the bourgeois problem of making money. It was out of all three that Whistler's celebrated suit against Ruskin arose. All three elements have coexisted with dandyism ever since. The book is an original and important study of a complex attitude that has had much to do with the making of modern art.

Two new manifestations of dandyism appear in the form of books of photographs mostly of people. *Observations* is the work of Richard Avedon and consists of between 80 and 90 photos of personalities of stage and screen, a few writers, some socialites, a scientist, a theologian, and a scattered handful of the anonymous poor. Avedon employs the low angle and the extreme close-up to give the effect of profound penetration. To these devices he occasionally adds a slow shutter. Steichen told me once that as a youth he used to spit on the lens or jostle the tripod with similar ends in view. The net result here is a dramatized presentation of people who are being talked about by people who talk a great deal without having much to say, all to be studied by people who are sitting under hair dryers. The text by Truman Capote is perfectly suited to the style of the photography. It toys with some presumed inner meaning of the subjects but is really its own excuse for being.

The 19th-Century dandy at once withdrew from society in disdain and sought to impose himself upon society. *Observations*, in both pictures and text, is dandyism placed at the service of what the true dandy finds most objectionable in bourgeois society, the higher gossip about art and letters.

Gregory makes it clear that dandyism is not to be confused with the Bohemian life of artists and would-be artists and at first thought the Beat phenomenon of our time would seem much more an unconscious parody of Bohemianism than any relative at all of the dandy. Yet there are connections. Drugs, for example, are much more likely to be used by dandies than by Bohemians, and the notion of dress as the expression of an attitude toward society is common to the dandy and the beat but not at all characteristic of the Bohemian.

Whereas the old-style dandy put his principal emphasis on the creation of the work of art, withdrew from society for that purpose and insulted and outraged society in order to open its eyes to the values of art, the beat has changed the relationship of these planks in the dandy's platform. Often the withdrawal from society seems to be the chief purpose – with art, or rather, expression, being really an extension of that withdrawal. With such a shift between ends and means, it seems theoretically possible that the dandy-beat, disdaining society and leaving it, could make his own work mainly a criticism of society, thus expressing his disdain but destroying his detachment – and cre-

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ating, for himself, one way out of the dead-end always a possibility for the dandy. In much beat writing there is a note of social criticism that could be developed into such a way out.

That development seems to have taken place in *The Americans*, a book of 83 photographs by Robert Frank, but the appearance is deceptive. I think it probably comes from the memories we all have of the great photographic documents produced in the thirties under the direction of Roy Striker working for various government agencies. A lot of the images are similar, but the differences are more important. Striker's photographers revealed the pathos and tragedy of hundreds of individuals crushed by an economic catastrophe beyond their understanding or control. In the midst of the ruins human dignity flowered and was recorded. You felt pity and anger. *The Americans* is distinguished photography, with a beautiful eye for composition in depth and for the obvious symbols of an inane society. There is neither pity nor anger, only an adolescent disgust with the surfaces of life among the lower and upper middle bourgeoisie. Inanity for inanity it's hard to choose between those surfaces and the ones offered in Jack Kerouac's self-induced hysteria in the introduction. FRANK GETLEIN

Correspondence

The New Republic *welcomes communications in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.*

Epistle to the Columbians

Sirs:

That is quite a chunk of idealism Mr. Morgenthau is handing out (*NR*, December 21). I am certain the "cowardly young men" realize it, even if Mr. Morgenthau does not, that Van Doren is simply the victim of our tail-fin society; if it were not he, it would surely have been someone else. *Alex E. Charlton*
Cincinnati, Ohio

Sirs:

Mr. Morgenthau is confident that the truth is immutable, that our intentions need only be good for our actions to correspond to the laws of Nature or of God. Is that what we have been led to believe by the melancholy history of our times? Or is the opposite closer to the truth?– that we live in a world where man is but a "futile passion," where physical power alone is sovereign, where is the higher law?

Nonetheless, this is no time for cynicism or despair. Morality does exist; the possibilities of right action are never foreclosed. But the question of *what* is moral, of *what* is right, is open.

Albert Fried
Instructor in History
Brooklyn College

Sirs:

Professor Morgenthau cites the Ten Commandments as the basis of our morality. If violators deserve loss of employment Columbia should probably fire nearly all its faculty. How many of them, in the armed forces, violated "Thou shalt not kill?" The Kinsey report suggests that a third or more have committed adultery. There must be a few who do not love the Lord with all their hearts. Fire them!

Fred N. Kerwin
Grand Rapids, Michigan

Teaching Science

Sirs:

In the editorial "Teaching Science" (*NR*, December 21), you say that "almost [no high school] offers a physics course with a teacher who understands theoretical developments of the last generation, which means almost none offers a physics course worth teaching." This certainly raises some questions.

For example, have there been so many theoretical developments in the last generation in the fields of sound, light, heat, mechanical principles and electricity that a course taught in high school by a teacher who did not understand them would be not worth taking? Surely if this be true, these theoretical developments must have overthrown the elemental principles of these subjects. . . .

Or it is implied that heat, light, sound, electricity and mechanical principles are no longer worth studying in high school physics? Or, if we consider only the nuclear component of physics, have the theoretical developments so greatly altered the elementary principles there that it would not be worthwhile taking a course using the older principles?

Or, if the purpose of a high school physics course is primarily to acquaint the student with the elementary principles of physics as a part of science and a liberal education, does it matter that he learn theoretical developments of the last generation unless they have vitally changed the elementary principles?

Or is it supposed that the purpose of high school physics is the production of embryo physicists?

Conner Reed
Seattle, Washington

Facts and Faces

Sirs:

The lines in your lead note of December 28 about "stacks of studies about what is wrong with the US" inspired the following verse (with apologies to S. Omar Barker):

Fact-finding committees, commissions and such
Are wonderful! Who would displace them?
But the White House could add a delightful, new touch
If, having found facts, it would face them. *Justin Blackwelder*
Washington, D. C.

Mary McCarthy's Florence

Sirs:

Congratulations to W. J. Smith for an excellent review (December 28) of Mary McCarthy's *Florence*. It is true, as Mr. Smith observes in his peroration, that Miss McCarthy neglects a big chunk of 19th- and 20th-Century Florentine history, that image of ultimate temptation and corruption you find in James' great story, *The Madonna of the Future*, or the Florentine episodes of *The Portrait of a Lady*. This Florence reappears with diminished intensity in Norman Douglas' sentimental-sardonic reminiscences, most vividly in Lawrence's *Aaron's Rod*. At the deepest level it is this Florence that disturbs and opposes Miss McCarthy the most, rather than the "tooled-leather" Florence of the professional aesthetes ridiculed by James, Douglas and Lawrence. What these gentlemen say in effect is that anyone who stays in the city too long or looks

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at it too closely will eventually end up on the walls with the other exhibits, that Florence's prime latter-day talent is for mummification.

Florence is not the intellectual or artistic center of modern Italy but neither is it a backwater. Everything that falls under its eye is given a hard, dry, athletic, cruel and concentrated stare. When the Italian theater decided to examine its conscience, this took place in an extraordinarily detailed and monumentally serious issue of the liberal Florentine quarterly, *Il Ponte* (Summer, 1957). I remember my astonishment at hearing the Florentines loudly hiss poor old Giacomo-Lauri-Volpi's failure to hit a high note in *La Favorita* at an age when it was a wonder he dared sing at all. Miss McCarthy has absorbed the modern Florentine spirit so well and espoused it so thoroughly that she seems unaware of how she herself has become a voice of Florence's new era, which is not exactly like any previous era. As Mr. Smith observes, "The city did not entirely stop developing with the fall of the Republic. . . ."

R. W. Flint
Cambridge, Mass.

Mr. Johnson and the Bishops

Sirs:

I felt it was very sad to see Mr. Johnson forsake the superficial aspect and take up the banner of the pietistic platitude in regard to bishops and birth control. The pietists have always said that religion should be kept pure, avoiding all contamination with the things of the world, dirty things such as political issues. Superficially, however, Mr. Johnson and the pietists would disenfranchise all bishops, priests, clergy, rabbi. Pietistically this is always done in the name of propriety and faith. Superficially it would keep the church safely occupied playing with liturgical toys – pure, irrelevant.

Pietistically, being a Presbyterian clergyman, I am relegated, it would seem, to the age of the aboriginal. Superficially, however, I believe that I have been given responsibilities. I shall exercise the little influence I have as strongly as I can according to my conscience – even on such matters as birth control. Pietistically there are those who believe that I have forsaken the pillars of faith in doing so. Mr. Johnson would seem to agree. Superficially, however, responsible action is the essence of faith.

Clyde M. Allison
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

"Pawky"? "Balding"? "Wizened"?

Sirs:

In reference to TRB's "Noel, Noel" (*NR*, December 21), I too, a member of the American Legion, applauded Sen. Stephen Young's spirited reaction to the reported attempt at his censure by "self-appointed Legion vigilantes." This, of course, is not the first time, nor probably will it be the last, that pompous knotheads among the hierarchy that controls the top echelons of the Legion have embarrassed and otherwise abused the membership of vast numbers among the rank-and-file members of the organization throughout the country.

But I do not appreciate your uncalled for reference to America's veterans of World War II and World War I as now being "pawky men" – "balding" and "wizened." Neither does my applause extend to the Senator's remarks about "chairborne" soldiers. I say these things as a combat soldier, a former Marine, grown perhaps somewhat "pawky" with the years, but also still carrying some of the marks of war; and one who after the first taste of combat would have gladly changed places with the "chairborne."

Your editorial applause of presumptious pomposity getting its comeuppance was justified – your derision of veterans for showing the marks of time was not.

W. W. Campbell
Portland, Oregon

Bouquets for Brustein and Black

Sirs:

Just a note to tell you that Brustein's dollars and cents review of the Inge play was *priceless* and that the Ross piece was *by far* the funniest thing you've ever published (December 21). Susan M. Black – who she? More from her – soon – please. *Tom Foster*
New York, N. Y.

Miss Black is a girl just out of Wellesley who hasn't published much if anything – yet. – THE EDITORS

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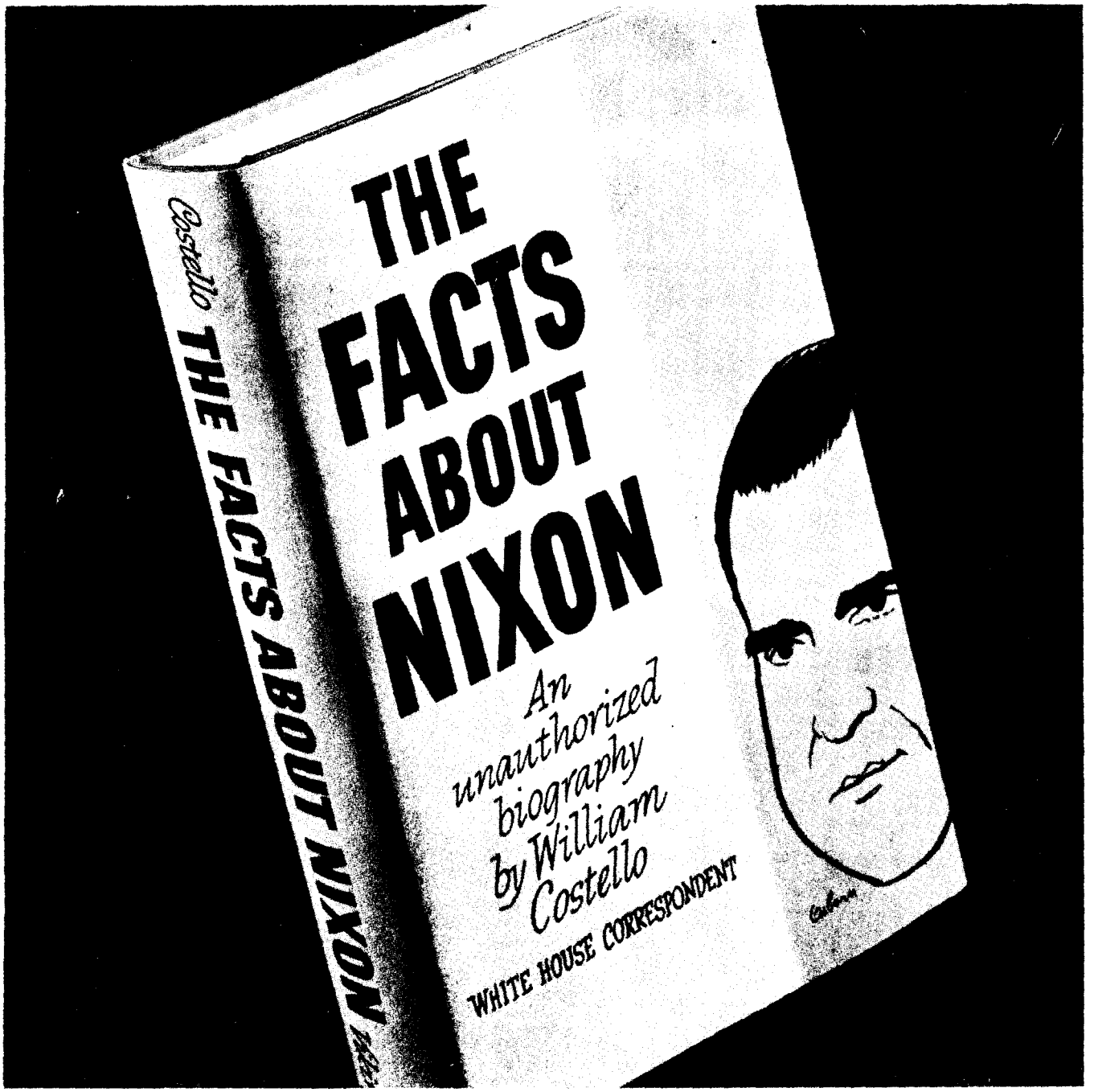
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